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London office, 40-42 Fleet Street.
Paris office, 6 rue de la Michodiere, off rue de la Concorde.
Washington office, Munsey Building, 150 Nassau Street.
Brooklyn office, Room 202, Eagle Building, 303 Washington Street.

Telephone, BECKMAN 2200.

Interpreting Germany's Election.

To interpret correctly the results of the general election held yesterday to choose delegates to the German Constituent Assembly it is necessary to bear in mind the fact that the voters of the new Teutonic democracy, instead of being divided as American electors are into two great parties, give their adherence to numerous smaller parties. With us the minor political organizations seldom attain the dignity of national importance; the country is carried by the Republicans or by the Democrats, and the simple statement that Republicans or Democrats have succeeded at the polls tells the whole story.

In Germany the case is different. There the electors have chosen to affiliate with a comparatively large number of party organizations, some of which so closely resemble others in their principles that it is extremely difficult for any except a diligent student of German affairs to comprehend the significance of their differences. The *Sun* has yesterday a despatch from The Hague, quoting a Berlin report which discussed the elections in Bavaria, in which it was declared that Premier Eisner's party was "totally defeated," and which made manifest the possibility of confusion:

"It is true the Centre, with fifty-eight seats, stands at the head of the Deputies, but Socialists may regard the peasant League seats as allies of their fifty-one Deputies."

"The twenty-two seats of the Bourgeois Democrats insure a strong Left majority."

"The Right parties so far have won sixty-two seats and the Left parties ninety-three."

"The twenty-four Deputies still to be elected in the occupied territory of the Palatinate cannot produce a Right majority."

"If the peasant League is counted as Socialist there are provisionally seventy-one Socialists."

This partisan division of representatives makes necessary the arrangement of working agreements between various parties arrived at by compromise and involving reciprocal concessions in the actual conduct of legislative business. Such combinations are, of course, subject to frequent readjustment and sometimes are violently disrupted. Their maintenance is one of the heavy tasks of the political leaders.

What has been conspicuous in the elections held previous to yesterday in Germany is the numerical inferiority of the advocates of Bolshevism. Despite the uproar they have been able to make they have been consistently outvoted by the less radical forces in the country, a fact which gives ground for strong hope that yesterday's balloting may have produced a victory for the same democratic masses of the population.

Michigan's Senatorial Contest.

On the face of the election returns TRAUMAN H. NEWBERRY, Republican, was elected a Senator of the United States on November 5, to succeed WILLIAM A. SMITH of Michigan, whose term expires March 3. Mr. NEWBERRY defeated HENRY FORD, who ran on the Democratic ticket.

Mr. FORD is contesting Mr. NEWBERRY's victory, alleging various irregularities in the election, which was exceptionally hard fought.

The present Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections has given heed to Mr. FORD's contest and the Senate is about to impound the ballots.

Mr. NEWBERRY's term does not begin until the Sixty-sixth Congress expires. The seat under discussion is in the Sixty-sixth Congress, which is not yet in existence. But it has been alleged that should the inquiry be delayed the evidence might be destroyed and the development of the truth thus be made impossible. Consequently the Senate is acting through its officers, although many members question its present authority to pass on the case.

This unusual situation is the result of the common desire of Mr. FORD and Mr. NEWBERRY to get at all the facts in the case. Mr. NEWBERRY, whose campaign was unusual in that it did not receive his personal attention, his time being given entirely to his duties

as an officer of the navy, does not want the seat unless he won it honestly, and his representatives have entered into stipulations with agents of Mr. FORD according to which the candidate successful on the face of the returns is contributing all he can to assist in the fight against himself. Never was a more friendly action prosecuted in an election dispute.

Mr. NEWBERRY's conduct in this matter is exactly in line with his conduct in the campaign. Never did he offend more insistently seek the man than did the Senatorship from Michigan seek Mr. NEWBERRY. It is gratifying to record that whatever the ultimate outcome of this affair may be no man can say truthfully that TRAUMAN H. NEWBERRY endeavored to profit by fraud, by sharp politics, or even by seeking shelter behind a defensible technicality.

Japan in Industry and Commerce.

Comparison, detrimental to the latter, is often made between the Chinese and the Japanese, largely because of a lack of historical perspective. In China, trade and industry have been respectable for over 2,000 years, for it was long ago that feudalism was abolished and the Great Wall was built in token of a united nation. In Japan, on the contrary, until TOWNSEND HARRIS in 1857 won the treaty of trade and residence, all foreign commerce was under ban. The merchant, or he who made money by buying and selling, held the lowest place in society. He stood on a par with the pedler or chapman in feudal Europe, when everybody that was anybody was either knight or yeoman. The money-maker, if caught on the road, was fair game. Hence, in the old Japanese ship of state its established feudal divisions were as water tight compartments. There were local craft guilds, by which petty annoyances to employers could be inflicted, rather than justice obtained; but no large union and no national organization of labor interests was possible at that period.

On the contrary, in China, close organization, ramifying over the empire, was common. There was time enough—and it requires centuries—to demonstrate what is now held to be axiomatic, that "honesty is the best policy." Hence, as a rule, when a foreign firm deals with a Chinese, the latter represents responsibility and a backing greater than his own. To "save face," in Chinese business matters, suggests always a very composite photograph. In Japan there has not been time for such cohesion and the same measure of associated business integrity, for the merchant was not recognized as having social standing until 1871.

In a word, between the Chinese and Japanese there is, we think, no inherent, ethical difference, any more than between the draft on a bank purchased, let us say, up State and a personal private check. Both may possibly be invalid, though presumptions greatly favor the validity of the associated rather than that of the individual document.

In absolute demonstration of Japan's progress in the industrial as well as the commercial world and of something like a revolution in methods of both organization and the dictates of humanity, we point to the arrival among us of Mr. BUNJI SUZUKI, the delegate of Japan's trades unions to the Peace Congress at Versailles. Few families in modern Japan can show a more brilliant array of intellectuals and of men in the finer arts than his. Yet neither the fat red volume entitled "Who's Who in Japan" nor the "Japan Year Book" for 1918, in its more select honor list, admits his name to its columns. What odds? He was a student in the University and Law School in Tokyo. The youth later came under the good influence of Dr. CLAY MACAULEY of Boston and Washington fame.

Shall we be charged with American chauvinism in saying that Mr. SUZUKI saw from afar his beacon of hope in the United States? Be this so or not, the plain fact is that this is his third, though shortest, visit among us. He is an accomplished lawyer; he is unusually well read in the history of economies and the story of freedom. Thrilled by the records of the race, he has devoted his life to improving the condition of industrial humanity in his native land. For weal or woe, at the time when Townsend HARRIS proved to the proud heretic feudalists that trade was honorable, and when an American teacher before the Supreme Court in Tokyo made good his argument that labor with the hands did not disgrace a gentleman, and so obtained a technical school, the industrial portion of Japan's population was scarcely a sixth of the whole. Now, in the age of machinery and also of factories and city congestion, it is a full fourth, in a population that has doubled.

From her cottage or individual industries Japan leaped at a bound into capitalism and concentrated manufactures controlled by corporations. In the Government reports, in the sixteenth closely printed pages of the unpartisan and unofficial Year Book, and in the missionary reports, all for 1918, there is unanimity of verdict, with profusion of details and statistics. The effect on an American reader is at once encouraging and sickening. Many thousands of sweating humanity in Japan even long for the old feudal days to come back! The long hours, the horrible conditions, the increase of lunatics, the disabled and the broken down of both sexes—30 per cent. of the women going home to die, after being worn out in the factories—are depressing to the humanitarian. It is useless to burden the columns of *The Sun* with proofs and an array of figures. The "rice riots" of last August

ought to show and have shown the Government that affairs at home deserve its first attention. Nor ought honest men to suffer for the follies of those who in 1910 hoped to right the wrong by crime.

In a word, progress in alleviating the miseries of the masses in a nation suddenly dragged out, one might almost say, by strenuous Yankee enterprise, from feudal slumber into the activities of the curb, the stock exchange and the factory, seems indeed footed. "The law's delay" in Japan is not poetry or rhetoric; it is a pitiful fact. If statistics alone held the rostrum, the night of despair might well settle down. Yet, if one bears in mind what one actually saw in Japan nearly fifty years ago, when for the working man as such nobody cared a jot, when beggars and outcasts lined the public roads and sat in crowds in the temple courts, when gamblers diced away not only clothes but even wives and children, when one million were not reckoned human nor counted in the census, and when the mechanics had no rights known to the law and hardly even that of life before the sword wearers, what has been actually achieved seems wonderful, while that which is of promise is as the flaming of the morning sky.

Unfortunately, as we have intimated, the hopes and efforts of genuine labor in Japan were not only frustrated, but received a chronic handicap, when in 1910 some conspirators, reputed to be "socialists," plotted to deride the life of the Mikado, of noblest name and fame and virtual father of the new nation. This gave the humanistic movement a most undeserved bad name, as of partnership with treason and all things vile. Yet wherein does history in Japan differ from history in other lands, even the most enlightened, even in America?

Briefly stated, the Japanese working men, now nationally affiliated, even though the Imperial Government while encouraging benevolent activities still refuses to give labor unions a legal status, make what we consider moderate claims. At their grand national convention, held in Osaka in April, 1918—the mere fact of such a gathering being a modern wonder to a man with less than a fifty-year-old memory—it was decided to petition the Government, first, for an eight hour system; second, minimum of one yen (fifty cents) daily wage; and third, the establishment of labor insurance. Even though the factory law of September 1, 1910, is only tentative in force and slow in operation, there has been visible progress; while the new Cabinet, made up of experienced statesmen, though untitled, and actual business men risen from the ranks, is steadily helping the tolling masses.

Despite greed, the cruelty of man to man, the constricting power of old traditions—always harder to change in spirit than in form—Mr. SUZUKI and all who feel with him may take cheer. Let this land of freedom still be his beacon, for here among us every year on the headlands of the once unknown new lights of hope are kindled. American history means "the steady gain of man." In reinforcement the recent elections in England and the legislation and trend of affairs in the United States mean that with the English speaking nations the lines of progress still continue to be on those of patience, enlightenment, law and order. Along these lines also, as Mr. SUZUKI's record proves, may be found the hopes of labor in Japan.

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Premier HUGHES insists in the first place that Australia is entitled to an indemnity, which Germany should pay to the utmost of her ability. He bases this demand upon the losses which his country has suffered and upon the fact that in clothing and equipping her troops Australia has spent \$1,500,000,000. This war debt to a new nation of only 5,000,000 inhabitants he considers a serious handicap to future progress and development. He likewise insists that Australia shall retain the islands of New Guinea, which the Australians took from Germany early in the war.

In this demand the Premier states the policy which Australia and New Zealand will undoubtedly declare. This policy includes the adoption of a doctrine similar to the Monroe Doctrine for the East. The islands of New Guinea are less than 100 miles from the northern coast of Australia; they present possibilities for naval bases and for submarine boat stations, and in the hands of an unfriendly Power they would constitute a menace to Australia. New Zealand will make the same claims regarding the Pacific islands which her troops occupied. The insistence with which both of these demands have been made and the evident determination of Australia and New Zealand to rid themselves of German influences in the Pacific form grounds for the recent British statement that the fate of the German colonies rests not with Great Britain, but with her overseas dominions.

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STORY OF A GREAT POEM.

How Julia Ward Howe Came to Write the "Battle Hymn of the Republic."

To THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—Sir: In the kind and appreciative review of my book, "Memories Grave and Gay," *The Sun* says: "We wish that Mrs. Hall had told more in detail how her mother wrote the 'Battle Hymn of the Republic.''" *The Sun*, as usual, is right. I now regret the omission of the story, already given, as the reviewer intimates, in my mother's "Reminiscences," also in the leaflet printed on her seventieth birthday, in the *Century* magazine and elsewhere.

Many, many times was she called upon to rehearse it and to recite the hymn itself, before audiences in all parts of the country. The interest in the "Battle Hymn" and the part it has played in the great struggle for freedom was a source of great happiness to her.

During the dark days of the civil war, she longed to do something to help her husband, a veteran of the war, and to help the revolution, but now too old for military service, was a member of the Sanitary Commission. On one of his trips to Washington my mother accompanied him. While he, a gallant horseman, rode out to inspect the troops, she went in a carriage with friends to recite the hymn itself, before audiences in all parts of the country. The interest in the "Battle Hymn" and the part it has played in the great struggle for freedom was a source of great happiness to her.

Another reason advanced is that the hymn itself cannot be made part of another fleet without making expenditures larger than the value of the ships themselves.

These reports cannot have been started after mature consideration. Conservation has been the keynote to which we have been trained especially during the period of the war, and more so during the last two years.

We have been asked to conserve food, clothes and fuels of all kinds, in fact everything which we have been fortunate enough to find in our markets, and we have cheerfully complied with every request the different departments of our Government have made, in order that with our savings the allied Governments should have the means to equip their soldiers and civilians and destroy the Hun.

We have been asked to subscribe to the various Liberty Loan issues, to buy War Stamps, because money was needed to carry on the war; and how the American people have answered these calls in the richest country of the world, Germany most of all.

We are now told that a fifth loan is coming because of need of funds even after the peace treaty shall have been signed.

We are told of the vast sums which will be required for the relief of orphans and widows, for maimed soldiers and civilians.

We have been privileged to subscribe to the various relief funds, to give our little mite, so that the different organizations should have the necessary means to carry on the work of mercy, which has been the most wonderful expression of that civilization which the Hun vainly tried to destroy.

We have just closed a Red Cross campaign for funds, and we all know how well spent is every dollar given to this most wonderful of organizations.

We have been taught the value of money as never before in the history of nations, and now we hear that one of the largest navies of the world, the greatest prize after our complete victory which we have exacted from the enemy, should be taken to the high seas and wastefully destroyed.

Would this be conservation?

Every friend of civilization would have rejoiced to learn that the Teutonic navies had been destroyed in an engagement, but I do not believe that we, who have done all that we have been able to do to alleviate sorrow and distress among war stricken people, will find satisfaction in knowing that our leaders have deliberately destroyed hundreds of millions of dollars worth of shipping which could be turned over to the benefit of mankind.

The Teutonic fleets have surrendered and belong to the victors, and have surrendered in the same way as Germany has surrendered thousands of guns, airplanes, railroads, etc., etc.

Everything is in our hands to do as we please, but why destroy one of our best friends? We have not heard of any trouble arising from the allotment of other war booty, so why should there be any in connection with the navy?

We have seen in our own United States army imposed upon by merchants and firms who did not comply with the rules set down by the Food Administration that have been turned over to the Red Cross, and we have all approved of such disposal.

Why not sell these ships to the small nations of the earth, and turn the proceeds of this sale over to an international committee of the Red Cross? Or with that money why not build and endow in the several countries which have been at war with the Central Powers large hospitals where the victims of German brutality could be cared, again as well as possible at German expense?

And why sink the German fleet and keep the Austrian and Turkish ships afloat?

What better and more just use could be made of the Hun fleets than to turn them into money and spend this money to rebuild humanity crippled by German brutality?

Sink the German fleet, and the Beast of Berlin will smile because he will know that the Allies cannot trust one another.

Sink the German fleet, and the Junker party will take heart, knowing that jealousie reigns among the Allies, and they will do all in their power to sow discord among them.

Sink the German fleet, and our grand children will learn in history that we have committed the greatest crime of all times against conservation. We cannot afford to go down in history as having wilfully destroyed hundreds of millions of dollars at a time when every dollar is sorely needed.

Dr. Garfield tells us to keep on conserving coal. Can it be possible that this further saving is needed to replace coal which would be wasted in taking the German fleet to its burial?

LOUIS BALDACCINI.
ILION, January 18.

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And then there is the subject of health, about which most of us talk dolefully and without art. But the Senator makes health talk sweeter by far than a prose poem. Consider this, and as soon as Director-General HINZ restores the two and a half cent fare rule with stopover privileges buy a ticket to Arizona, because "it is dreamful tranquillity which soothes the throbbing nerve of pain. He (Arizona, of course) blows a bracing, healing air that reddens the bloodless lip and paints the rose upon the invalid's pallid cheek."

We care not what the schoolmen may say; you'll seldom find language dipped deeper from the inkwell of temerity. We chide the Senator only because he hints that a more facile word painter ever made Nature jealous of her own portrait.

STORY OF A GREAT POEM.

How Julia Ward Howe Came to Write the "Battle Hymn of the Republic."

To THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—Sir: In the kind and appreciative review of my book, "Memories Grave and Gay," *The Sun* says: "We wish that Mrs. Hall had told more in detail how her mother wrote the 'Battle Hymn of the Republic.''" *The Sun*, as usual, is right. I now regret the omission of the story, already given, as the reviewer intimates, in my mother's "Reminiscences," also in the leaflet printed on her seventieth birthday, in the *Century* magazine and elsewhere.

Many, many times was she called upon to rehearse it and to recite the hymn itself, before audiences in all parts of the country. The interest in the "Battle Hymn" and the part it has played in the great struggle for freedom was a source of great happiness to her.

During the dark days of the civil war, she longed to do something to help her husband, a veteran of the war, and to help the revolution, but now too old for military service, was a member of the Sanitary Commission. On one of his trips to Washington my mother accompanied him. While he, a gallant horseman, rode out to inspect the troops, she went in a carriage with friends to recite the hymn itself, before audiences in all parts of the country. The interest in the "Battle Hymn" and the part it has played in the great struggle for freedom was a source of great happiness to her.

Another reason advanced is that the hymn itself cannot be made part of another fleet without making expenditures larger than the value of the ships themselves.

These reports cannot have been started after mature consideration. Conservation has been the keynote to which we have been trained especially during the period of the war, and more so during the last two years.

We have been asked to conserve food, clothes and fuels of all kinds, in fact everything which we have been fortunate enough to find in our markets, and we have cheerfully complied with every request the different departments of our Government have made, in order that with our savings the allied Governments should have the means to equip their soldiers and civilians and destroy the Hun.

We have been asked to subscribe to the various Liberty Loan issues, to buy War Stamps, because money was needed to carry on the war; and how the American people have answered these calls in the richest country of the world, Germany most of all.

We are now told that a fifth loan is coming because of need of funds even after the peace treaty shall have been signed.

We are told of the vast sums which will be required for the relief of orphans and widows, for maimed soldiers and civilians.

We have been privileged to subscribe to the various relief funds, to give our little mite, so that the different organizations should have the necessary means to carry on the work of mercy, which has been the most wonderful expression of that civilization which the Hun vainly tried to destroy.

We have just closed a Red Cross campaign for funds, and we all know how well spent is every dollar given to this most wonderful of organizations.

We have been taught the value of money as never before in the history of nations, and now we hear that one of the largest navies of the world, the greatest prize after our complete victory which we have exacted from the enemy, should be taken to the high seas and wastefully destroyed.

Would this be conservation?

Every friend of civilization would have rejoiced to learn that the Teutonic navies had been destroyed in an engagement, but I do not believe that we, who have done all that we have been able to do to alleviate sorrow and distress among war stricken people, will find satisfaction in knowing that our leaders have deliberately destroyed hundreds of millions of dollars worth of shipping which could be turned over to the benefit of mankind.

The Teutonic fleets have surrendered and belong to the victors, and have surrendered in the same way as Germany has surrendered thousands of guns, airplanes, railroads, etc., etc.

Everything is in our hands to do as we please, but why destroy one of our best friends? We have not heard of any trouble arising from the allotment of other war booty, so why should there be any in connection with the navy?

We have seen in our own United States army imposed upon by merchants and firms who did not comply with the rules set down by the Food Administration that have been turned over to the Red Cross, and we have all approved of such disposal.

Why not sell these ships to the small nations of the earth, and turn the proceeds of this sale over to an international committee of the Red Cross? Or with that money why not build and endow in the several countries which have been at war with the Central Powers large hospitals where the victims of German brutality could be cared, again as well as possible at German expense?

And why sink the German fleet and keep the Austrian and Turkish ships afloat?

What better and more just use could be made of the Hun fleets than to turn them into money and spend this money to rebuild humanity crippled by German brutality?

Sink the German fleet, and the Beast of Berlin will smile because he will know that the Allies cannot trust one another.

Sink the German fleet, and the Junker party will take heart, knowing that jealousie reigns among the Allies, and they will do all in their power to sow discord among them.

Sink the German fleet, and our grand children will learn in history that we have committed the greatest crime of all times against conservation. We cannot afford to go down in history as having wilfully destroyed hundreds of millions of dollars at a time when every dollar is sorely needed.

Dr. Garfield tells us to keep on conserving coal. Can it be possible that this further saving is needed to replace coal which would be wasted in taking the German fleet to its burial?

LOUIS BALDACCINI.
ILION, January 18.

Arizona: a Prose Poem.

"Only a facile pen, and not this dull one, may be dipped deep enough into the ink of temerity to attempt a description of Arizona," says the over modest junior Senator from that State, the Hon. HENRY FOUNTAIN ASHURST. Well, we are not sure about that. He dips pretty deep and drips beautifully. Could the inkwell of most temerity supply colors more lovely, we ask, than these?

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